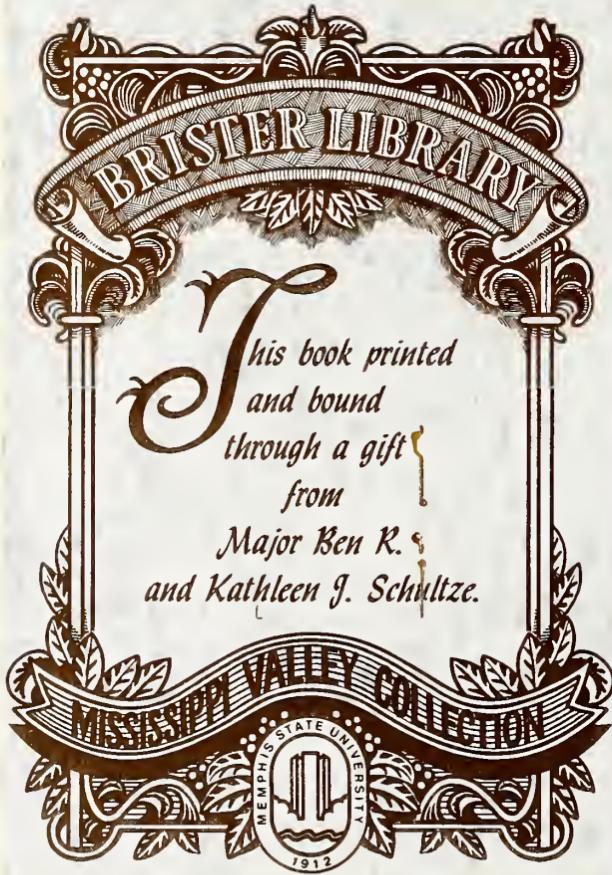


ORAL HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
INTERVIEW WITH
WILLIS M. BAKER

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE
MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY



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ORAL HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

INTERVIEW WITH WILLIS M. BAKER

FEBRUARY 8, 1970

BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY

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PLACE Media, Pennsylvania

DATE February 8, 1970.

Willis M. Baker

(Interviewee) Willis M. Baker

Charles W. Crawford

(For the Mississippi Valley Archives
of the John Willard Brister Library
of Memphis State University)

THIS IS MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE PROJECT
AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. THE DATE IS
FEBRUARY 8, 1970. THE PLACE IS MEDIA, PENNSYLVANIA. THE INTERVIEW IS
WITH MR. WILLIS M. BAKER, FORMERLY WITH THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY,
PRESENTLY RETIRED AND LIVING IN MEDIA. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES
CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH
OFFICE, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Baker, I suggest that we start by getting a general summary
of your background and life before joining TVA, and then we'll outline and
discuss your work with TVA.

MR. BAKER: Do you want my professional experience before I came to TVA?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir, start with where and when you were born, if you will,
and then give us some information about your early experiences--your
education and your employment before TVA.

MR. BAKER: Well, I was born in 1892 in Warren, Pennsylvania, a town in the
northwestern part of the state where my father was a doctor for forty years.
I went to Penn State University and graduated in 1914 as a forester. My
first job was with the U. S. Forest Service. After passing the civil service
examination as a forest assistant, I was assigned to the Apache National
Forest in Arizona, where I served as a ranger for nearly three years. I
also had a little experience in timber sale work on the Coconino National
Forest. Then in 1917, I returned to the East to be married. I got a job
with the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Development as a forest
ranger on the Stokes State Forest in Sussex County in the northern part of
the state. Then a few months later the assistant forester in Trenton
resigned, and I was promoted to his position and served in Trenton as

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MR. BAKER: Assistant Forester, and later I became the Associate State Forester (Cont'd.)

and Supreintendent of the State Forests until 1930, when I was offered the position of Director of the Forest Research Institute in the Department of Forests and Waters in Pennsylvania. I worked there for about a year and a half when I was offered the position of Director of the Central States Forest Experiment Station of the Forest Service, so I returned to the Forest Service in Columbus, Ohio, where I worked for seven years until I was offered this position as Chief Forester of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1938.

DR. CRAWFORD: When did you go to Knoxville, Mr. Baker?

MR. BAKER: That was in June, 1938.

DR. CRAWFORD: What conditions did you find in regard to forestry in TVA?

MR. BAKER: Apparently forestry got off to a poor start in that it followed the usual pattern of the U. S. Forest Service in acquiring woodland that could be managed under government supervision, just as the Forest Service develops its national forests. That was contrary to the TVA policy of developing the cooperation and participation of local agencies and local people rather than federal control. So when I came to the TVA there was a feeling that the forest program was getting off on the wrong foot, as it were. It was necessary to bring about a change in the program.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why were you asked to take that job, Mr. Baker? Who recruited you for TVA?

MR. BAKER: Well, when the TVA was started the Chief Forester, Edward Richards, offered me a position as one of the branch chiefs in his department. At that time I preferred to stay with the experiment station of the Forest Service. That was in 1933. Meantime I had filled out one of the personnel forms that the Authority kept on file for prospective employees. I suppose that is why they asked me to come with them in '38.

DR. CRAWFORD: You had some doubts, then, when you accepted this position, Mr. Baker?

MR. BAKER: Yes, although I was naturally flattered to have the offer. It represented the highest promotion that I could expect as a forester in the Federal Civil Service. Also, I was very much impressed after my visit to Knoxville with the nature of the comprehensive program of TVA. It got down to grass roots and depended on the participation of everyone--agencies, citizens, land owners.

DR. CRAWFORD: What places did you go to? What people did you meet when you made your first trip to Knoxville?

MR. BAKER: I talked for some time with the. . . I can't remember his name now, but he was an official of the Personnel Department.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was that Gordon Clapp, perhaps?

MR. BAKER: Well, I did talk with him later at a meeting with several of the top TVA officials, including Neil Bass, who was then the Chief Conservation Engineer, and J. C. McAmis, who was the Director of the Agricultural Relations Department. There were some others, but I don't remember now just who they were. Gordon Clapp was one.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you favorably impressed with TVA as a result of this trip?

MR. BAKER: Yes. I still was a little fearful because of the confusion and the political situation regarding the government production of power.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you not certain that TVA would continue? Was there doubt as to this?

MR. BAKER: Yes, I had doubts.

DR. CRAWFORD: I know that many of the people who went to work for TVA, particularly in the early period, had a great deal of doubt that it would endure. Many of them didn't buy homes for a great length of time.

MR. BAKER: That is true. But at the time I realized that it was a good opportunity, if I could make a go of it. And I realized that I would have to face myself if I passed the opportunity up because I was afraid of it. So I decided to take a chance. It was the best decision I ever made.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you think that TVA's employment and retirement system compared favorably with Civil Service?

MR. BAKER: I had no idea of it at that time, but I found later that the TVA merit system of personnel recruitment and management was just as good in every respect as the Federal Civil Service. And it did avoid some of the delays and the red tape encountered in Civil Service. The Personnel Department convinced itself by examination of the qualifications of prospective employees, and the rights of the individual employee were carefully guarded, just as in Civil Service.

DR. CRAWFORD: I think that it was very carefully organized and has been well-maintained since. Did you have an opportunity to examine any of the forest areas on your first trip?

MR. BAKER: No, but I had visited the Tennessee Valley during a meeting in Knoxville in 1935, I think it was, and I became familiar with the region--since it was part of a territory served served by the Central States Forest Experiment Station in the middle west, Kentucky and Tennessee.

DR. CRAWFORD: Many foresters, though, had doubts about TVA's work in the early period, didn't they?

MR. BAKER: Yes, and so did many other people.

DR. CRAWFORD: What was the basis of the doubt that was generally held?

MR. BAKER: Well, I suppose it was the attacks by political opponents of Roosevelt's New Deal and the people who didn't think that the government

MR. BAKER: should get into the power production program. There were a great (Cont'd.) many rumours around of all kinds usually pointing out some alleged fault or weakness or mistake that the Authority was said to be making. Also, I think that many persons in other government agencies were fearful that the Authority would duplicate some of their activities and make it more difficult for us to carry on their programs. In other words, I would say that bureaucratic jealousy was responsible for much antagonism against TVA.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, TVA certainly did have a broad area. You know, it was involved in so many things--agriculture, flood control, power distribution, forestry--that I can see how other agencies would be jealous.

MR. BAKER: It was perfectly natural. The title "AUTHORITY" implied domination.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why do you feel that the TVA had not been better accepted? Had there been attempts to sell the TVA idea to foresters in general to explain what it was doing?

MR. BAKER: If so, it didn't come to my attention.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you feel that while you were with TVA it was better accepted by American foresters?

MR. BAKER: Yes. It took quite a long time to dispel some of the early misgivings. But after the World War II, and from then on I think we were very well accepted, especially by the local agencies and organizations with whom we worked.

DR. CRAWFORD: What did you do to dispel those suspicions?

MR. BAKER: We worked with everybody who would work with us in a cooperative program that recognized the responsibilities of all participants.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you active in the Society of American Foresters at that time?

MR. BAKER: Yes, I was elected in 1938 and again in 1948 to the Executive Council of the Society of American Foresters, and also served as chairman of the Kentucky-Tennessee Section.

DR. CRAWFORD: I suppose that your personal contacts helped the Authority become better accepted by foresters, didn't they?

MR. BAKER: Well, possibly among some of my friends who knew me well. But I don't think that was a major factor in our being accepted.

DR. CRAWFORD: At the time you went to work for TVA, did you have doubts about the Authority caused by Congressional Hearings and the bad newspaper publicity?

MR. BAKER: Naturally. It was something to be rather dreaded, and incidentally, I was one of those who was called upon to testify after having been with the Authority just a few weeks while I was still trying to get oriented.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir, you arrived at the time the Congressional Hearings were underway, or were being prepared, didn't you?

MR. BAKER: Yes. I think they occurred within a couple of months after I came. And there were all kinds of questions that I was unprepared to answer, because I was still trying to find out what the job was all about.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you deal with the testimony? Did you try to learn facts as quickly as you could before the hearing?

MR. BAKER: Well, naturally; also my assistant, Richard Kilbourne, sat at my elbow and helped me with some of the questions that I didn't have the answers for.

DR. CRAWFORD: With what people did you work most closely in your early TVA experience, besides Richard Kilbourne?

MR. BAKER: For the first few years I reported to the Chief Conservation Engineer, Mr. Neil Bass, whose office was in Knoxville. Later I reported

MR. BAKER: directly to the General Manager. My closest associates in the (Cont'd.) Department were Dick Kilbourne, who became the Assistant Director, and the Branch Chiefs--Kenneth Seigworth, E. G. Wieseuegel and A. H. Wiebe, all of whom are now retired.

DR. CRAWFORD: I have a list, I think of all TVA retired personnel. How many people were working with you in forestry?

MR. BAKER: Well, I believe, as nearly as I can recall the Department of Forest Relations had about 250 people. Nearly a hundred of those were professional forester, biologists, and engineers. The others were technicians and the clerical personnel.

DR. CRAWFORD: What did you think of the quality of the personnel you had to work with?

MR. BAKER: For the most part, I think they compared favorably with any government organization. Some of them had outstanding ability.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you feel that their training and experience was adequate, generally, for their work?

MR. BAKER: Yes, of course there were a few that didn't measure up as well as the majority did, but I know that I was very well pleased with the organization and with the personnel.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you have any part in recruiting new personnel, or was that handled by the personnel office itself?

MR. BAKER: Frequently we had the need to recruit personnel as openings occurred. We had the privilege of telling the personnel office of individuals whom we hoped to employ. They would then make sure that they were qualified and usually, if they were qualified, they would get the appointment. The Personnel Department also maintained lists of eligibles.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you locate personnel you wanted to recruit? Did you use your previous contacts in the forestry profession?

MR. BAKER: Yes, and also many individuals here and there had filed applications with the Authority for employment.

DR. CRAWFORD: What forestry activities did you find under way when you started?

MR. BAKER: Most of the work was conducted in cooperation with the civilian conservation corps. Some thirty C. C. C. Camps, each with two hundred men, had been assigned to the TVA for the use of our department. In the early days they did much of the construction work in building fish hatcheries and forest nurseries in Tennessee and Alabama, and as soon as the forest planting stock was available they planted trees and plugged gullies on the eroding slopes around the reservoirs. The camps were also made available to private land owners to demonstrate erosion control and soil conservation practices. And thousands of acres were reforested and treated for erosion control by these camps throughout the Valley.

DR. CRAWFORD: That had started, of course, before you arrived?

MR. BAKER: That had started in the early days of the Authority.

DR. CRAWFORD: Had much progress been made by 1938?

MR. BAKER: Yes, the camps had done a great deal of erosion control work.

They also worked with the State Forestry Departments in trying to strengthen their forest fire control organizations by building fire towers, access roads, and telephone lines of communication.

DR. CRAWFORD: What sort of relations did you have with the C. C. C.?

MR. BAKER: Our work with these camps was very satisfactory. In the neighborhood of each camp one of our foresters was assigned to more or less supervise and direct the work and to select the work projects to be undertaken by the camps.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you feel that the service performed by the Civilian Conservation Corps was valuable to the area?

MR. BAKER: Yes, it benefited the owners of thousands of acres of eroding or idle land, it helped the Valley states to organize for fire control, and its activities aroused public interest in resource conservation and development. It helped TVA to get started on the program that continued after the C. C. C. was terminated.

DR. CRAWFORD: About when were they discontinued?

MR. BAKER: About 1942 at the start of World War II.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that the personnel who did the work were generally young men who needed employment, or at least needed something to do.

MR. BAKER: That's true. They were youngsters in their late teens or early twenties, but there were also a few camps of war veterans.

DR. CRAWFORD: What sort of supervisory personnel did the camps have?

MR. BAKER: Each camp had a military officer in charge, and also a Camp Superintendent and several work foremen provided by the U. S. Forest Service. TVA personnel selected the work projects and gave overall supervision of the work.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was the supervision effective? Did the boys with the C. C. C. camps generally do what they needed to do? Did they perform well?

MR. BAKER: Of course there were some personnel problems at times and occasionally some of the work was not up to par, but in general most of the camps did a good job.

DR. CRAWFORD: How will you describe their contribution? Was it most valuable for reforestation, for erosion control, or for general purposes?

MR. BAKER: The C. C. C. work made a good contribution in reforestation, erosion control, soil conservation, forest fire control, and development of

MR. BAKER: fish and wildlife resources. Moreover, the many plantations of
(Cont'd.)

pine that they started attracted the pulp and paper industry to move into the Valley. However, I think the greatest long-term value was the fact that these activities and demonstrations made a great many people aware of the need for that kind of work, so that the people were ready to undertake it themselves later when the camps were discontinued.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were your demonstration projects widely viewed? Do you think they had great influence?

MR. BAKER: Locally, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were the local land owners impressed by the work?

MR. BAKER: I think so.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you familiar with the erosion problem in the Valley before TVA?

MR. BAKER: Yes, to some extent, since the western half of Tennessee was in the region served by my Experiment Station.

DR. CRAWFORD: What changes did you notice brought about by this program? Was erosion brought under control?

MR. BAKER: Gradually, yes. After the camps were terminated we continued the same kind of work with what we called "direct land-owner cooperation," where we furnished the trees because there were no state nurseries at that time, and the land owners themselves did the work with the supervision of TVA foresters, the foresters of the Extension Service and the State Foresters. We all cooperated in giving advisory and supervisory services to the land owners.

DR. CRAWFORD: In what states did you perform the service?

MR. BAKER: In all of the Valley states. Do you want me to name them?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir.

MR. BAKER: The Tennessee River watershed included most of Tennessee, Southwestern Virginia, Western North Carolina, North Georgia, North Alabama, the North corner of Mississippi and Western Kentucky.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was your supervisory work mainly carried on from Knoxville at this time?

MR. BAKER: Most of our staff was located at our headquarters office in Norris and operated from there, but we also had eight field offices with three or more employees in each one.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember the location of the field offices?

MR. BAKER: They were changed from time to time. We tried to have one in each state. I can remember a few places. We had a field office in Paris, Tennessee and at Muscle Shoals, Ashville, Bristol, Virginia, and Chattanooga and Decatur, Alabama. As I said, they were moved from place to place to meet the needs of the work.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you find general approval of your forestry work on the part of TVA management?

MR. BAKER: In the beginning I felt that the top officials in the TVA were still suspicious that we foresters would be inclined to work for more government control, so our forestry projects were given supervision through the Office of the Chief Conservation Officer.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who was Neil Bass at that time?

MR. BAKER: Yes. He was a very fine gentleman, incidentally.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir. I talked with him in Washington recently.

MR. BAKER: And there was a great deal of emphasis at that time on the agricultural program, and much of the work was conducted in cooperation with the land-grant colleges and the Agricultural Extension Service. We were pressured to work in that same pattern.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you deal with that pressure?

MR. BAKER: By doing the best job we could under the circumstances; however, gearing forestry to agriculture meant concentrating our efforts chiefly on projects of soil conservation and erosion control, but it neglected a great many problems and opportunities to develop the forest resources of land owners other than farmers.

DR. CRAWFORD: Had that policy generally been carried out through the first five years of TVA?

MR. BAKER: This situation continued until World War II when the demand for more production of everything, including forest products, awakened the interest of the forest industries in the opportunities and the need for better forestry practices. That gave us the opportunity then to expand out program to work with these timber operators and forest industries. At that time, I think the forestry department and its work started to become appreciated by the top TVA officials. Our status was very much improved.

DR. CRAWFORD: About what year was that, sir?

MR. BAKER: Well, it started about 1942 and continued throughout the rest of the 1940's and until I retired in 1954.

DR. CRAWFORD: And you attribute the improvement in your position to the support of private forestry?

MR. BAKER: I think that the success of the program was due to the fact that the TVA depended on grass roots work with citizens and individuals and local agencies.

DR. CRAWFORD: A great deal of your work involved contact with such people , didn't it?

MR. BAKER: Yes. I think that we had almost a hundred cooperative agreements with state agencies, local agencies, institutions and organizations throughout the region.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you travel a great deal in this work?

MR. BAKER: Yes. Of course, much of my time was necessarily spent in the headquarters office, but I traveled at every opportunity and did see everything that was going on in the program.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you get to all of your facilities on any frequent schedule?

MR. BAKER: I had no particular schedule, except that I tried not to leave any part of the program or any part of the region neglected. I tried to see it as frequently as possible.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did your personnel have to move around a good deal from one location to another?

MR. BAKER: Most of the time, no. I suppose you mean by that, changing headquarters? Some of the field offices were moved occasionally.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir. What did you do about wildlife conservation?

MR. BAKER: In the Department of Forest Relations one of the three divisions was called Biological Readjustment. Their work was concentrated on the fish and wildlife in reservoir areas.

DR. CRAWFORD: What were your other two divisions at that time, besides the Biological?

MR. BAKER: One was called the Watershed Protection Division, which conducted the field work in forestry--reforestation and forest development. The Forestry Investigations Division was a fact-finding and research unit. Its major project was the continuing inventory of the timber resources of the region.

DR. CRAWFORD: When did you start inventorying forest resources of the region?

Or was that started before you came?

MR. BAKER: That was started before I came.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you maintain that periodically or continuously?

MR. BAKER: Both. The inventory continued in some parts of the Valley each year and was repeated there periodically to record changes.

DR. CRAWFORD: What was the purpose of this forest inventory?

MR. BAKER: To get the facts regarding the extent and the condition of the forests and the forest resources and to learn what was needed to perpetuate them and improve them.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you have the personnel that you needed to keep this inventory up to date?

MR. BAKER: We had a very good organization under the leadership of William Jolly, and he did a very good job in maintaining this over the years.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who else worked with you on that?

MR. BAKER: It would take me some time to recall the many individuals, but Division Chief Wieseheugel was in charge of the fact-finding projects.

DR. CRAWFORD: What people did you rely on most in your administrative work?

MR. BAKER: Chiefly the chiefs of each of the three division and Assistant Director Kilbourne. Those chiefs were Seigworth, Wieseheugel, and also Dr. Wiebe who was placed in charge of the Biological Readjustment Division after Dr. Cahn resigned.

DR. CRAWFORD: Dr. Wiebe is now retired at Norris, I understand.

MR. BAKER: Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: I am to talk with him there, I believe. When did you move to Norris?

MR. BAKER: When I first came to TVA in June, 1938.

DR. CRAWFORD: What was the condition of the town at that time?

MR. BAKER: Well, it was still fairly new, but it was established pretty well.

The houses and buildings and various facilities were all constructed.

DR. CRAWFORD: What effect did World War II have on your work with TVA?

MR. BAKER: The demands of war for increased production of wood products provided the opportunity for us to work with the forest industry and with forest owners other than farmers. Up until that time very little work had been done with timber industries or with their operators.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why had that been neglected before that time, or had not been done?

MR. BAKER: I suppose that the industries and the operators didn't appreciate the need for any help that the forestry organization might give them. There had been plenty of timber to meet their needs in the past.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did this change occur during the forties?

MR. BAKER: Essentially because of the increased demand for production--speeding up production, and at that time the resources were becoming somewhat depleted in many sections. It provided the opportunity then for the forest industries, and forest agencies and timber operators to work together.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were other people in TVA, outside of foresters, generally concerned with conserving timber?

MR. BAKER: If so I was not aware of it. However, each state had a forestry organization--a State Forester, but their chief activity was trying to organize forest fire control. At that time it was not yet too successful.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you assist in that work?

MR. BAKER: Yes, in various ways through the C. C. C. camps by helping to construct their towers and other facilities. Also the TVA foresters conducted a very impressive educational campaign throughout the region to help people to understand and appreciate the need for fire protection and fire prevention.

MR. BAKER: In some instances we gave the states financial and advisory help (Cont'd.)
in establishing effective fire control organizations.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was there difficulty in teaching people of this need?

MR. BAKER: In some instances, yes. Many people had become complacent about woods fires.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did people in the Valley have a habit of burning their timberland occasionally?

MR. BAKER: Yes, partly to prevent worse fires they did what was called "swingeing." It was a common practice to burn over the woods lightly to reduce the leaf litter so as to prevent a worse fire coming in later. Also I think a lot of people in the mountains thought that the fire purified the area--killed snakes, ticks, and other insects

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you educate people against that sort of thing? What methods did you use?

MR. BAKER: There were various publications and pamphlets distributed, but chiefly through lectures often illustrated with slides or movies conducted in the various communities with participation by the school teachers and authorities. We also enlisted the interest and help of key individuals in each community.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you have a decline in the number of forest fires during the time you were there?

MR. BAKER: Yes, there was a gradual decline in the number and size of the fires, and the situation has been very greatly improved over the years. In the beginning, in the early 1930's, it was estimated that at least 10% of the forested area, on the average, burned over every year. I understand that the recent TVA survey shows that this loss has been decreased to less than half of 1% of the area.

DR. CRAWFORD: A very small percentage I know now.

MR. BAKER: Yes. And the states are now equipped to do a good job in protecting the private woodlands.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did the burning that the people did then do serious damage?

MR. BAKER: Yes, depending, of course, upon the severity of the fire. Even light burning slowed up tree growth and weakened their resistance to attacks of insects and disease as the trees were weakened. Of course, severe fire destroyed the timber itself.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were severe fires rare in the region?

MR. BAKER: No, I wouldn't say they were rare; in fact, they were far too common.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did the system of building forestry towers or fire observation towers work? Was that effective?

MR. BAKER: It helped the states to get the facilities they needed for fire control. This was one of the ways that we could help the states without taking over their responsibilities.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you able to work together with them well without taking over those responsibilities?

MR. BAKER: Yes. After the original suspicion that the TVA might usurp their prerogatives was dispelled we worked with them very well, and they were very cooperative with us.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you attend meetings of the foresters in the region?

MR. BAKER: Yes, there were many meetings, and we tried to keep in contact with the organizations and individuals.

DR. CRAWFORD: What work were you doing in the biological division?

MR. BAKER: Well, in the beginning it seemed as though the TVA officials had little appreciation of the potential value of the fish and wildlife resources

MR. BAKER: and their contribution to the recreational and economic development (Cont'd.)

of the region. We set out to bring about an understanding of these assets which would become increasingly valuable as the public demand for recreational facilities increased. At that time very little was known about the problems of fish and wildlife development in the reservoir areas.

DR. CRAWFORD: What about the effect of the reservoir building on marine life?

MR. BAKER: It was commonly believed at that time that an artificial impoundment or reservoir would soon become what was called a "biological desert." That had happened in many places in the country where the reservoirs were built and neglected because the people and agencies responsible for their operation didn't understand the problems of maintaining aquatic life. We conducted studies of the reservoir conditions, the fish life and aquatic life, so that we learned what the opportunities were and what the problems were, and then we gave that information to the state agencies that had charge of the wildlife resources.

DR. CRAWFORD: What did your researchers discover that was new about the reservoir use for aquatic life?

MR. BAKER: In the beginning it was strongly recommended by the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service that the TVA establish fish hatcheries to replenish the fish resources. We soon discovered that hatcheries were entirely unnecessary; that with a reasonable amount of water control and the discontinuance of the sudden and drastic fluctuations in water levels and with the control of siltation that the reservoirs reproduced the fish population far more effectively than could be done by stocking. Stocking was entirely unnecessary in the TVA lakes.

DR. CRAWFORD: They certainly have by now. There is a great deal of fishing done in the Tennessee lakes at this time.

MR. BAKER: Yes. Another thing we discovered was that the usual state laws restricting the fishing seasons and the amount of the catch were entirely unnecessary and unnecessarily restrictive in the large bodies of water such as these reservoirs.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did your discovery result in the state laws being changed?

MR. BAKER: Yes, we found that the average life of most of the game fish was about four years, and that most of them died a natural death. Meantime fishermen were probably not harvesting, at the most, more than 20% of the available fish. When the facts became known the states liberalized the fishing laws.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you mean that fish usually died after a period of about four years?

MR. BAKER: Yes, most of them, with occasional exceptions, of course. The average age was four years.

DR. CRAWFORD: What accounted, then, for the variations in size of the fish?

MR. BAKER: It was chiefly the amount of food available. Where plenty of food was available, the fish would grow very rapidly.

DR. CRAWFORD: And that resulted in the record catches in the TVA lakes, more than age?

MR. BAKER: Well, I suppose a few of the larger individuals were also a year or two older, but they'd had a good life with plenty to eat and little competition.

DR. CRAWFORD: What about commercial fishing? Did the discoveries have anything to do with commercial fishing in the lakes?

MR. BAKER: The people interested in sport fishing for game fish such as bass, pike, trout, etc., were sometimes opposed to commercial fishing which was usually done with nets, because occasionally game fish were caught in the net.

MR. BAKER: We worked with the commercial fishery people and tried to get them (Cont'd.)

to understand that they needed the good will rather than the opposition of the sport fishermen, so they had better be careful about catching game fish.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were they able to do that?

MR. BAKER: By regulations of the size of the nets used and in other ways.

DR. CRAWFORD: I know that there is a certain amount of commercial fishing on the Tennessee River now in the Florence-Sheffield-Tuscumbia area.

MR. BAKER: There was commercial fishing on many of the lakes. And another angle of that problem was that which we call the rough fish such as catfish, suckers, and carp, competed with the game fish for food and in many instances the rough fish were able to increase faster than the game fish. We thought that an effective way of keeping the two kinds of fish in balance was to encourage commercial fishing. Not only that, but commercial fishing and the catch of rough fish by local residents was an important part of their food supply.

DR. CRAWFORD: It also had something to do with income being produced in tourist trade, didn't it?

MR. BAKER: The fishing attracted many tourists; it's one of the major attractions of the region, I think. Both commercial and sport fishing greatly increased local income.

DR. CRAWFORD: What about the harvesting of mussel shells?

MR. BAKER: That's part of the same picture. It was thought in the beginning that the flooding of the reservoirs would destroy the mussel shell industry which was locally quite an important industry. It kept a lot of people employed and produced a certain amount of local income. The Tennessee River was one of the major sources of mussel shells for the button industry, and

MR. BAKER: our studies disclosed that this flooding did not destroy the mussel (Cont'd.)

industry, but that new methods of harvesting were necessary and they were gradually developed. So the industry has survived.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you know of any industry that did suffer as a result of the TVA lake building?

MR. BAKER: No. I think the chief effect of the flooding was the taking out of production of a certain amount of agricultural land. I don't know of any commercial enterprise that was curtailed because of that. In fact, local business and industrial developments in the region were increased many fold by the availability of low-cost electric power, low-cost water transportation, and sites along the reservoirs available for commercial use.

DR. CRAWFORD: In regard to the timber resources, did you encourage the planting of certain types of trees?

MR. BAKER: Yes, we conducted studies to determine which were the best species adapted to the condition of the soil and climate, and also which ones were needed by the wood-using industries of the region.

DR. CRAWFORD: What types of trees did you encourage?

MR. BAKER: Well, most of the reforestation was done with native yellow pines--the short leaf and loblolly pines.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did you use the pine?

MR. BAKER: Because the evergreens--the pines--were better adapted to thrive on land impoverished by erosion and fire than were most hardwood species. Then about this time the paper companies were moving into the region and into the South. A good many of the big paper companies had operated previously in the spruce forests of the North, and they found that they could use the faster-growing Southern pine for pulp.

DR. CRAWFORD: What effect did TVA have on this movement of the paper industry into the South?

MR. BAKER: The effect was very great. Our reforestation program provided a great deal of young, second growth pine available for the pulp industry, and more paper companies moved into the Valley.

DR. CRAWFORD: If you will, give us some information about the use made of timber resources.

MR. BAKER: In order to improve the forest resources and to promote the most rapid growth of the best species some intensive management practices such as thinning were necessary in dense stands of young trees. And as improved fire control and reforestation increased the amount of young timber, forest owners and operators needed an outlet for the trees cut by thinning. The pump companies provided the profitable market for inferior and small timber removed by improvement cuttings.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did you support the growing of pine trees? Did you feel that pine, in effect, would support the paper industry?

MR. BAKER: Fundamentally, most of the reforestation was done with pine because, durability of its wood which met the need for fence posts and products of that kind. I understand that a great deal of work has been done since to promote in various ways, by management, fertilization, and so on, the growth of the hardwood species which constitute a very large part of the forest wealth of the Valley.

DR. CRAWFORD: What hardwood species particularly did you support?

MR. BAKER: Generally what were considered to be the more valuable species, such as the white oak and tulip poplar and the red oak.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you supply seedlings to be planted?

MR. BAKER: During my time we grew very few hardwood except black locust for planting eroded lands, but our Tree Crops nursery produced selected varieties of black walnuts for planting as nut orchards. Also oriental persimmons.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did you grow few hardwoods?

MR. BAKER: Because the immediate need was for the pines to reforest the lands that needed to be planted to stop erosion and stream siltation.

DR. CRAWFORD: How long a period of time did you estimate before pine could be profitably harvested?

MR. BAKER: In the South and under fire protection and good conditions, the timber grows very rapidly. Trees become pulpwood size in about twenty years. When I finally retired to manage my own timberland in North Carolina, some of the land had been abandoned for farming in 1940, abandoned and then it gradually reverted to forest. In 1957, seventeen years later, we harvested several cords of pine pulpwood per acre in thinning the young timber.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you supervise the planting of that land yourself?

MR. BAKER: No. It was natural reproduction. As the land was abandoned it reverted to forests. The shortleaf pines seeded in from the surrounding seed trees.

DR. CRAWFORD: How long was the period of time generally before hardwoods in the area could be harvested?

MR. BAKER: Do you mean the age of the trees?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir.

MR. BAKER: Well, the yellow poplar (tulip poplar) grows very rapidly, but its value for saw timber required certain maturity. For most hardwoods I would say that forty or fifty years would be a minimum age for harvesting as saw timber. Of course, further maturity would be required to improve

MR. BAKER: the quality of the timber. Hardwoods grow to pulpwood or post (Cont'd.) size in twenty years or less.

DR. CRAWFORD: And what sort of period of time would you estimate in the South for oak?

MR. BAKER: The oaks usually grow more slowly than the yellow poplar, but under good conditions some trees could probably be harvested in fifty years for products other than large, high-grade sawlogs.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you make any use of walnut?

MR. BAKER: There was some black walnut scattered through the region on moist, fertile soils. It was one of the more valuable species of hardwoods, but usually the land available for reforestation was not suitable for growing walnut. However, we did produce walnut seedlings for our "Tree Crops" project to grow trees for their nuts rather than for timber.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did TVA have anything to do with supporting nut orchards?

MR. BAKER: Years of investigation revealed the strains of black walnut that produced the best nut crops. To demonstrate the benefits of growing these select walnuts we distributed the nuts or seedlings to farmers who wanted to start nut orchards.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you make these plants or seedlings available?

MR. BAKER: Yes. TVA started nursery production of seedlings for reforestation and tree crops because at that time there was practically no other source of planting stock, but we encouraged the states--the State Forestry Departments--to start their own nurseries so as to take over the responsibility for seedling production as soon as possible. They have done so since.

DR. CRAWFORD: You tried to avoid duplicating other agencies' functions then?

MR. BAKER: Yes. Our job was to get things started and to get the local agencies and organizations interested in doing just as much of the job as they could. It was largely a local problem and their opportunity and responsibility. We were trying to get resource development started.

DR. CRAWFORD: There was quite a change in the land policy, I believe, in 1938, when Harcourt Morgan became Chairman and TVA started disposing of the Forest land.

MR. BAKER: Yes. The TVA emphasis was on private rather than public forestry.

DR. CRAWFORD: What caused that change? Was it an attempt to avoid duplicating functions of other agencies?

MR. BAKER: That was part of it. In the beginning the Authority necessarily purchased entire tracts because otherwise they would take over the fertile bottom lands that were needed for the reservoir sites or the dams and leave the seller with the less productive or poor uplands. So entire tracts were purchased, and that meant that there was considerable over-purchase that TVA didn't actually need for its reservoirs or for any other purpose. TVA was convinced that what was needed in the region was better land and resource management by private owners. There was already an abundance of public lands in the region managed as national forests and national parks in the mountains along the eastern border of the region. What the Valley needed was more and better productive and protective forest cover on the waste, idle and eroding lands that caused the siltation of reservoirs. That meant getting the private land owners to take care of their lands and resources properly.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was this change then an attempt to turn the work over to private individuals more?

MR. BAKER: Yes. TVA supported public production of electric power because the lethargic electric industry needed a demonstration of its potentialities, but there was already considerable forest land under public ownership in the region so that was not TVA's problem. Then as the surplus reservoir lands were disposed of we transferred many thousands of acres to other agencies--to State Conservation Departments for parks, to the Forest Service where they had established national forests, to the National Park Service for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and to the Fish and Wildlife Service. And in that way the TVA avoided duplicating the functions of agencies that administered public forests, public parks, and public wildlife refuges.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you approve of this policy of disposing of the TVA land?

MR. BAKER: Yes, although I thought that the TVA was sometimes acting prematurely in disposing of some of the land bordering the reservoirs that might be needed later for public access or for other purposes in the public interest. Also there was considerable pressure from the agricultural people who insisted that the surplus lands should be turned back to the farmers, although much of it was not well-suited for agricultural production. Auction sales were held to dispose of suitable locations for industrial development and for private lakeside homes.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you acquainted with Gifford Pinchot before your joining TVA?

MR. BAKER: I had met him. I didn't know him well, although he was Governor of Pennsylvania a few months before I left their Department of Forests and Waters to join the Forest Service.

DR. CRAWFORD: You were familiar with his career as a forester, I suppose, at the early part of the century?

MR. BAKER: Oh, yes, he was the recognized leader and the hero of forestry when he started the U. S. Forest Service under Theodore Roosevelt back in the early 1900's.

DR. CRAWFORD: What was his attitude toward TVA, and what was the incident in which he came in contact with it?

MR. BAKER: In the fall of 1938 he came to Norris to see what was going on. He had been not only the first Chief of the Forest Service, but he had also been one of the founders of the Yale Forestry School. My predecessor, Ned Richards, was a graduate of the Yale School. I thought that possibly Pinchot had heard some reports about TVA that made him wonder just what we were doing in forestry.

DR. CRAWFORD: That would have been understandable, wouldn't it?

MR. BAKER: Yes, because our program was no longer based on federal custody of woodland. Pinchot believed in federal control.

DR. CRAWFORD: Considering the efficiency of foresters.

MR. BAKER: Not only that, but there was much mis-information about the TVA being disseminated at that time by the people who didn't approve of TVA. Pinchot came to Norris, I spent considerable time with him and for several days we looked at the various projects of reforestation and erosion control. He told me that he was very much disturbed about what he understood was the attitude of the TVA Board toward forestry, and that he would have a conference with the members of the TVA Board to discuss the situation. I arranged a meeting with the Chairman, Dr. Harcourt Morgan, and was asked to sit in on the discussion. As we drove to Knoxville, to attend this meeting with Dr. Morgan, I told Pinchot that we appreciated his interest and concern, but I thought that his criticism might do more harm than good. We understood what our problem was and we were confident that we could work it out. We spent the next two hours listening to Dr. Morgan as he explained thoroughly

MR. BAKER: the TVA program, policies, procedures, and objectives. And he (Cont'd.) convinced Mr. Pinchot that TVA was in good hands, because he didn't raise any embarrassing questions.

DR. CRAWFORD: He did seem, then, to become more favorably impressed with TVA?

MR. BAKER: Yes, he seemed to appreciate what the problem was, and that TVA was doing a good job. Later he held a press conference, and the local paper, the Knoxville News-Sentinel, came out with a report that Pinchot had said that the TVA was doing a good job; that the TVA forestry organization was doing a good job except that it had not made provision for taking over the job of fighting forest fires in the region. When we were on one of our inspection trips, Pinchot saw the smoke of a fire. He asked what we were doing about it, and I told him that we were helping the state improve their fire control organizations in every way we could but we were not taking over their responsibilities for suppressing fires on private lands throughout the region with our C. C. C. camps, because when the camps were finally discontinued the state organization would be left practically helpless unless they meanwhile organized their own effective organizations.

Well, Mr. Pinchot was always very intolerant of delay, and he wanted immediate action. He was a very dynamic, energetic individual, and he was strongly inclined to favor federal control of resources. At this press conference he said that he felt we were doing a good job in reforestation, but he thought that it was a very serious omission that we didn't get out and fight fires through our C. C. C. camps. He apparently didn't appreciate or understand the indirect approach of trying to encourage the states to do their job.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you generally pleased with this report?

MR. BAKER: Yes. Apparently his visit had dispelled some of his earlier misgivings about TVA forestry.

DR. CRAWFORD: That was high praise, I suppose, considering his distinction as a forester.

MR. BAKER: Yes, he was, as I said, a leading authority and his influence on the forest profession has been very great and still is.

DR. CRAWFORD: Had charges been made leading up to the Congressional investigation which caused him to believe that something was wrong with TVA?

MR. BAKER: Very possibly. I don't know exactly what he heard or thought. The Congressional Hearing was held several months before Pinchot's visit.

THIS IS MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE PROJECT
AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. THE DATE IS
FEBRUARY 8, 1970. THE PLACE IS MEDIA, PENNSYLVANIA. THE INTERVIEW
IS THE SECOND WITH MR. WILLIS M. BAKER, FORMERLY WITH THE TENNESSEE
VALLEY AUTHORITY, NOW RETIRED.

MR. BAKER: After the C. C. C. camps were discontinued we cooperated with
State and Extension foresters in working directly with landowners to
promote timber production by farmers, timber operators, wood-using
industries, and other large owners of woodland. The objective was sustained
production of forest products.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did any of the large operators have their own foresters?

MR. BAKER: Very few, if any. About the time we started that kind of work
there was practically no forestry management of timber lands in the region
except in some of the public forests, and in just a few private holdings
such as the Biltmore estate near Asheville, North Carolina. There were
many big land owners in the region, however, such as the coal companies
in the Cumberland mountains from Virginia to Alabama and in western
Tennessee where the Hassel and Hugh's Lumber Company worked with us in
developing an outstanding demonstration of sustained forest production.
The Bowater Paper Company cooperated with us very effectively after it
moved into the Valley.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did many of the large timber users such as Bowater produce their
own timber? Or did they buy it from other producers?

MR. BAKER: Well, over the years some of the larger lumber companies and the
paper companies built up a back-log of their own timber in addition to
buying stumpage from other private woodland owners. Most of the smaller

MR. BAKER: sawmills operated on stumpage bought from local woodland owners.
(Cont'd.)

Today more of the permanent wood-using industries either have acquired their own woodland or through long-term leases they obtain cutting rights to harvest the timber of other woodland owners.

DR. CRAWFORD: That developed during the forties or later, didn't it?

MR. BAKER: Yes, it started toward the end of World War II.

DR. CRAWFORD: What do you think the forestry work did in dealing with siltation in the lakes?

MR. BAKER: There is little siltation from thrifty forests or from land where erosion has been controlled by reforestation, and the improvement of agricultural practices to conserve soil is also a major factor in siltation control. A badly denuded area known as Copper Basin in the extreme Southeastern corner of Tennessee contributed very seriously to reservoir siltation. In fact, the reservoir formerly built by a private power company on the Ocoee river was already completely filled with silt and the next reservoir below it was gradually filling up.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why was that such a bad area ?

MR. BAKER: Copper Basin was practically a man-made desert resulting from the operations of the Tennessee Copper Company that began about one hundred years ago. Trees were cut for fuel used to smelt the copper ore in open pits; the sulphur fumes given off by smelting killed trees and other vegetation over an area of some 25,000 acres; uncontrolled fires burned over the area year after year and completed the process of denudation, leaving the land fully exposed to severe erosion. Later the fume damage to trees and other vegetation was greatly reduced when the Copper Company adopted new methods of smelting and fume control, but soil erosion and stream siltation continued.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you deal with that problem?

MR. BAKER: We finally won the cooperation of the Tennessee Copper Company by offering to help them to control fires and reforest the area not only to check the serious erosion but also to grow crops of trees on the land that had been denuded.

DR. CRAWFORD: What did you use, pine trees?

MR. BAKER: Yes. The first step was to test the adaptability of various species. Some small plots of pine had been planted years earlier and were still growing. In the meantime the company was making every effort to reduce sulphur dioxide fumes coming from their smelters. We moved a C. C. C. camp into Copper Basin and it was able to reforest several hundred acres successfully before the C. C. C. program ended in 1942.

DR. CRAWFORD: What is the condition of that region now? Has that project been successful?

MR. BAKER: I believe that considerable progress has been made. The company became real interested and very cooperative. After the camp was discontinued, the work was continued to some extent by the company with some help from the state and TVA. I know that considerable areas have been planted and covered with vegetation, not only with trees, but with various grasses and other plants such as kudzu.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you favor the use of kudzu yourself, to stop erosion?

MR. BAKER: Well, I never had very much to do with kudzu. I had seen it get out of hand in a good many places and become a nuisance. It practically smothered the growth of trees and other plants.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir, it has become a problem in some places.

MR. BAKER: But we rarely used kudzu.

DR. CRAWFORD: What was the erosion condition in the Valley when TVA started?

MR. BAKER: There were a good many areas where it was very severe; in mountain country there is bound to be considerable erosion. In some places the soils were very easily eroded even in woodland where forest fires had burned off the ground cover, or where the mountainsides had been turned into cornfield, but erosion became less as the agricultural practices were improved.

DR. CRAWFORD: How were they improved? Was contour plowing and avoidance of hillside farming a part of it?

MR. BAKER: Yes, and plugging gullys; that is building dams in the gullys to check the rapid flow of water, runoff.

DR. CRAWFORD: What sort of dams did you construct?

MR. BAKER: Oh, they were made out of brush and stone or whatever material was available locally. Frequently some chicken wire was used to hold back the debris that would dam up the water.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did foresters generally believe in the importance of forestation and preventing floods?

MR. BAKER: Yes, although too little was known of the actual facts which, of course, varied from place to place with different sites and forest conditions and various amounts of rainfall. So there was a great need for more research to get the facts of the influence of forest cover and land use on water runoff. It was probable that most foresters at that time were inclined to place too much emphasis on the actual effect of forest cover on major floods, whereas the engineers were inclined to discount it entirely. They were interested in dams and levees rather than in watershed protection measures. Unquestionably forests helped greatly to reduce local floods.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you greatly concerned at the time with ecology--with the balance of nature in the Valley--wildlife, forestry, and other forms of life?

MR. BAKER: Certainly. Ecological considerations were basic in a comprehensive program that had to do with the natural resources and their relations to each other--animals, plants, land, water, climate, and man's activities.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you work with Harcourt Morgan? I believe that he had some idea about keeping a balance of wildlife--common mooring, I think he called it.

MR. BAKER: Yes, I always thought that he had a very sound approach to and understanding of what the Valley needed. He pointed out that most of the Valley lands should be used for producing forage and fibre. That is, grass and pastures for livestock and timber. There had been too much emphasis on raising cotton and corn on land that couldn't maintain its productivity under cultivation for row crops which led to soil erosion.

DR. CRAWFORD: And you were interested in that sort of thing, too, weren't you?

MR. BAKER: Yes, naturally.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that your work was a bit ahead of its time. You are hearing a great deal today, you know, about ecology and environmental solutions--keeping a balance.

MR. BAKER: Yes, more people have suddenly become aware of the need to conserve resources. Perhaps forestry was "a bit ahead of its time" when foresters urged reforestation while timber was still relatively abundant and cheap. It was cheaper to buy more woodland than it was to plant trees and grow timber. Now this situation has changed drastically because depleted resources can't meet the needs of our increasing population.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Baker, can you tell me something about the situation at the beginning of the Republican administration in the fifties when the House of Representatives voted to discontinue appropriations for activities listed in

DR. CRAWFORD: the TVA budget as resource development projects?
(Cont'd.)

MR. BAKER: At the start of the Eisenhower administration the House of Representatives voted to discontinue all appropriations for projects listed in TVA's budget as Resource Development. That included all forestry, fish and wildlife work of the Forestry Relations Department and some projects in other departments. Some congressmen voted for this action because they thought TVA could finance its entire program from the sale of electric power; other undoubtedly reflected President Eisenhower's lack of confidence in the Authority's program, which he called "creeping socialism."

Whatever their motives were, the congressmen voted to appropriate no more money for resource development--and without making provision for some other source of funds. It looked as if our Department was being eliminated, so we notified the people and organizations with whom we cooperated that our work with them would soon be terminated unless our funds were restored. Then the Forest Farmers Association, an influential organization of southern timberland owners with headquarters in Atlanta, came to our support, made arrangements for a hearing before the Senate appropriations committee, and headed a delegation of Valley citizens who testified in our behalf. As a result of this strong support the Senate Committee voted to restore appropriations for forestry; later they voted to include other projects, and eventually Congress continued to appropriate funds for Resource Development.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, now you had an article, didn't you, entitled, "Is This Creeping Socialism?" Can you tell me something about that?

MR. BAKER: When the American Forestry Association learned of our budget crisis they wrote me asking what we were going to do about it. That gave me the

MR. BAKER: opportunity to reply with a rather lengthy letter pointing out. . .
(Cont'd.)

INTERRUPTION (Telephone rings)

MR. BAKER: As a result of that favorable action by the Senate Committee the
Resource Development program was continued and it is still going strong.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that it did through the fifties.

MR. BAKER: As I was going to say when the phone interrupted us, my reply
to the American Forestry Association's inquiry stated what we had accom-
plished to date, what still needed to be done, and what we expected to do
if our work was continued. The editor of their magazine, American Forests,
asked permission to publish my letter under the caption: "Is This Creeping
Socialism?" It appeared in their issue of November, 1953 and was discussed
at their Forestry Congress meeting, at which President Eisenhower and a
number of Republican leaders were to speak. The Editor of American Forests
told me this article "toned things down considerably as regards Ike's
earlier criticisms of TVA."

DR. CRAWFORD: Then it was a real service to TVA, wasn't it?

MR. BAKER: Apparently so.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that it was a very useful contribution to have made, and
I want to thank you very much for the information, Mr. Baker.

MR. BAKER: You're very welcome, sir, and it's been a pleasure.







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